

648 redress for the incident the Chinese government's execution of sixteen Chinese and the banishment of over thirty others, including two local officials who had been lax in maintaining peace and order.

D. The Boxer Rebellion

648 A more violent and bloody manifestation
497 of anti-foreignism occurred in 1900 after
177 Germany, England, Russia, and France had wrung from the dynasty leases of territory and privileges of exploitation on Chinese soil. This display of imperial weakness in 1898, preceded a few months earlier by Tz'u Hsi's deposition of the emperor and the crushing of the reform movement, aroused as much sentiment against the Manchus as against the West. In the North, however, the dynasty was able to turn the expression of resentment almost wholly against the foreigners, particularly Christians, and Chinese converts

177 Anti-foreign hatred and violence
577 initially reached greatest intensity in Shantung and coalesced in the I Ho T'uan (Righteous Harmony Corps), also called the I Ho Ch'uan (The Fists of Righteous Harmony). Known to the West as the Boxers, the membership of the movement not only had gentry leadership, but also were encouraged by the Manchu governor of Shantung, Yu-hsien. His dismissal

177 under foreign pressure at the end of 1899 led
579 to the rapid decline of I Ho T'uan activities in
Shantung but the sect immediately shifted its
scene of operations to Hopei. By spring of
1900, the Boxers had killed scores of foreign
and native Christians in the province and
were receiving open support from the imperial
family. When an order for the expulsion of
the foreigner was issued from the capital
on June 20, the Boxers laid siege to the foreign
communities in Peking and Tientsin.

The sect made its appearance about
the same time in Shansi, where Yü-hsien had
become governor after being relieved from
his post at Shantung. He personally assisted
in the execution of a Catholic bishop and gene-
rally encouraged violence against foreigners
and Christian converts. Outside of Shansi
and Hopei, the I Ho T'uan was active on a large
scale only in Manchuria and Mongolia. In all,
more than two hundred Westerners, mostly
missionaries, and several thousand Chinese
converts were killed in the anti-foreign move-
ment. Provincial governors elsewhere in
China ignored the orders from Peking and
generally maintained order among the people.

177 The movement fell apart almost
579 immediately after a coalition of Western and
728 Japanese forces relieved the siege at Peking
648 on August 16, 1900. As in 1860, the court

555 The road to status and wealth through educa-
565 tion and government service was often by-
579 passed in time of chaos; military skills would
701 enable individuals to obtain high positions in the
bureaucracy. But military men seldom won
social esteem until they had become cultivated,
and such esteem generally accrued to their
children, who were given the opportunity by
reason of their parents' wealth to acquire
learning under the tutelage of well-known
scholars.

C. Social Organizations

- 575 Social organizations which had no basis in
● 579 kinship were not recognized as approved parts of
the social hierarchy or as approved means for
gaining social prominence. However, they
helped to supplement relationships otherwise
neglected by the social order. Most of the tra-
ditional non-kin social organizations had an
economic motivation. The success of such or-
ganizations, however, served as a disintegrating
influence on the existing social system.

In rural areas, organizations such as the Red
Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual
Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the
protection of its members against roving bandits.
These voluntary associations arose in areas
where the government failed to maintain order
and peace, and their organization cut across class

553 and occupational lines. When landlords were
579 forced to move into towns during periods of
disorder, organized peasants and tenants at
times became so powerful that they defied the
landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

467 Among the artisans and workers in China there
were for generations both craft guilds (hangs) and
regional guilds (pangs). As in Europe, these
guilds were not intended to serve the interests
of workers as a class, but to promote the crafts
and guard their monopoly and trade secrets. Both
employers and employees were members, but
the employers usually dominated the guilds'
activities.⁶

441 Another kind of association existed to serve
575 travelers, who were usually merchants, in cities
outside their home county or province. These
associations, t'ung-hsiang hui, were organized
on a county or provincial basis. By maintaining
buildings and personnel in distant cities, they
facilitated the dealings of their constituents who
might have language or other difficulties.

575 Most significant and disturbing to the social
structure were the secret societies. They were,
in fact, hierarchical societies within a society.
A notable example was the Ko-lao Hui, which was

6. Nym Wales, The Chinese Labor Movement,
New York, The John Day Company, 1945, p. 7.